TO THE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA.

I have received numerous communications from different portions of the State, asking my views on the request that they might be placed before the public. It is impossible to answer each of these communica-

tions, and I have therefore taken the liberty of addressconvictions deliberately formed and frankly expressed.

discussion of the following inquiry: Does the election

The answer to this inquiry involves a consideration of the principles of the party who elected him, as well

as principles of the man himself. The Black Republican party had its origin in the anti-slavery feeling of the North. It assumed the form and organization of a party for the first time in the Preof men of all previous parties, who then and still advocate principles directly antagonistic upon all other questions, except slavery, shows, beyond doubt or question, ern States, was the basis of its organization and the publicanism. Our Declaration of Independence says: bond of its Union. Freetrade Democrats and protecof hostility to the South, though for years they had which could thus bring together these hostile elements. It must be conceded that there was an object in view,

of no ordinary interest, which could thus fraternize these organized, there was presented no bright promise of that, and that only is, self-government."* political differences of the present, and, regardless of the 1856, Mr. Lincoln said: certain defeat which the future had in store for them, cordially embraced each other in the bonds of anti-sla- ning was, and until recently continued to be, the equality of very hatred, preferring defeat under the banner of Abolition to success, if it had to be purchased by a recognition of the constitutional rights of the South. The party has succeeded in bringing into its organization all the honest fanatics, who say, and say truly, that if slavery is with it, and are therefore for a dissolution of the Union. | ter declaration, including both these and much more, that Such I may denominate the personnel of the Black Republican party, which, by the election of Lincoln, has demonstrated its numerical majority in every Northern State except in New Jersey.

I have said that the circumstances which marked the which occurred in 1856, at the time of the nomination of Mr. Fremont for the Presidency.

of life, linerty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory

sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in

There can be no misapprehension of the doctrine here announced. It is as plain and explicit in its language as it is false and infamous in its teachings. Upon its announcement, the people of the Northern States were asked to pass their judgment upon its truth and correctness. The response may be found in the votes of nearly a million and a half of the Northern people, in favor of the election of John C. Fremont, its advocate and representative; and I may add that the election of Fremont upon this doctrine was only defeated by the personal popularity of Mr. Buchanan in the State of Pennsylvania. In that memorable canvass, the doctrines thus announced by the Black Republican party were boldly and earnestly defended by the supporters of Fremont everywhere. If there was any departure from the standard of principles thus formally and officially erected, it will be found in the more offensive and extreme doctrines of the men who advocated his election, and spokeas by authority for the party of which they were the most active and efficient representatives. I will not weary you with a tedious detail of their infamous sentiments to be found in the editorials and speeches of almost every advocate of Fremont's election in 1856 .-They are too familiar to every casual reader of that remarkable canvass, and can never be forgotten. If these doctrines and principles have ever been disclaimed or repudiated, either by Mr. Lincoln or any responsible man of his party, I have not seen or heard of it. Though they were not repeated in the same language by the Chicago Convention which nominated Lincoln, they were virtually endorsed, with the addition of a repudiation of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, as will appear in the extract below from the platform of 1860, and have both by Mr. Lincoln and his leading supporters, been defended and elaborated in the most emphatic language, and with the most embit-

"7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with cotemporaneous exposition and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and sub-

fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, organied that ' No person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the

Can there be a doubt in any intelligent mind, that the object which the Black Republican party has in | slavery?"-Mr. Seward. view, is the ultimate extinction of slavery in the United | States? To doubt it, is to cast the imputation of hyless personal respect than I do, and yet I do give them | ted S ates."-Mr. Seward. credit for more sincerity and intelligence than is consisrefuse to exercise it for the only purpose for which they professed to seek it. I do believe that, with all their meanness and duplicity, they do hate slavery and slaveholders quite as much as they say they do, and that no argument addressed to their hearts or judgments, in behalf of the constitutional rights of the South, would receive the slightest consideration. What might be effected by an appeal to their fears and capidity, I will not now stop to discuss.

In the nomination of Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency, the Black Republicans gave still more pointed expression to their views and feelings on the subject of slavery. Lincoln had neither the record nor the reputation of a statesman. Holding sentiments even more odious than those of Seward, he was indebted to the comparative obscurity of his position for a triumph over his better known competitor. By the boldness and ability with which Mr. Seward had advocated the doctrines of the "higher law" and the "irrepressible conflict," he had exhibited to the public a character so infamous, that even Black Republicans would not hazard the use of his name. To find a candidate of the same principles and less notoriety was the great work to be performed by the Chicago Convention. That duty was successfully discharged in the selection and nomination of Mr. Lin-

He had placed on record his calm and soleme declarations on the subject of slavery, sentiments which remain to this hour without retraction, or even modification, by himself. In the pamphlet copy of his speeches, revised by himself, and circulated throughout the Presidential canvass by his supporters, we find the following clear and unquivocal declaration of his views and feelings on the subject of slavery.

" I did not even say that I desired that slavery should be put in course of ultimate extinction. I do say so now, how-ever; so there need be no longer any difficulty about that. It may be written down in the great speech."

"I have always hated slavery. I think, as much as any abolitionist. I have been an old line Whig. I have always hated it; but I have always been quiet about it until this.

was in course of ULTIMATR EXTINCTION. putting an end to slavery agi ation. Under the operation ments of barbarism. present condition of the country, accompanied with the of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but "Violence, brutality, injustice, barbarism, must be retions, and I have therefore taken the morry of addressing my reply to the people of the State, asking for what
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ing my reply to the people of the State, asking for I have to say that consideration only which is due to expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will Crase to BE themselves, discoloring their very son's, blotting their char-The whole subject may be properly considered in the Either the approperly considered in the Either the appropriate the further is strong; but the evidence is even stronger. Some there of Lincoln to the Presidency, in the usual and constitu-

Commenting on this, he afterwards said:

"I only said what I expected would take place. I made a lists under the authority of the Constitution of the United prediction only; it may have been a foolish one, perhaps. States -Mr. Wilson. did not even say that I desired that slavery should be put in course of ultimate extinction. I do now, however; there need be no longer any difficulty about that.

wice, subverts that equality between the parties which the "What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern Creator established.—Mr. Seward. another man without the other man's consent I say this is that hostility to slavery, as it exists in the fifteen South- the leading principle, the sheet anchor of American Reare created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator

zans, united in cordial fraternity upon the isolated issue | rights, governments are instituted among men, DERIVING their just power from the consent of the governed. "I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that fought each other upon all other issues. The fact is according to our ancient faith, the powers of government important, because it illustrates the deep-rooted feeling | are derived from the consent of the governed. Now, the relation of master and slave is. pro tanto, a violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow incongruous elements. Besides, at the time this party | all the governed an FQUAL VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT; and

success. All the indications of the day pointed to | Again, in a speech delivered in Chicago, during the their certain defeat. So deep, however, was this last Presidential election, which we find pupblished in anti-slavery sentiment planted in their hearts, that the Illinois State Journal, the State organ of the Black they forgot and forgave the asperities of the past, the Republican party of Illinois, on the 16th of September,

> "That central idea in our political opinion, at the beginman. And, although it was always submitted patiently to, whatever inequality there seemed to be as a matter of actual necessity, its constant working has been a steady progress towards the PRACTICAL EQUALITY OF ALL MEN.

"Let past d flere ces as nothing be; and with steady eye Abolitionists of the North, except that small band of on the real issue, let us re-inaugurate the good old central with us; God is with us. We shall again be able out to dethe moral curse which the Black Republicans pronounce | clare that all the States as States are equal; nor yet that all it to be, they feel bound to dissolve their connection | citizens as citizens, are equal; but renew the broader, bet-

all men are created equal. Yet, again, in his speech at Chicago, on the 10th July, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said :

"I should like to know if, taking the old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop ! was an object in view, of no ordinary character. To say, it does not mean some other man? If that declaration Legislatures continue to return them to Congress if the If one man says it does not mean a negro; why not another was an object in view, of no ordinary character. To is not the truth, let as get the statute-book in which we see and appreciate that object properly, we must refer to find it, and tear it out. Who is so bold as to do it? If it is appointed by those chosen to represent them. tion of principles, Incttrue, let us tear it out. [Cries of "No, no!"] " Resolved, That with our republican fathers, we hold it | ferior, and therefore they must be placed in an interior to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with position-discarding the standard that we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughthat all men are created equal. * * * * 1 leave you. hoping that the lamp of liberty wil burn in your bosoms til there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are creat-

In these declarations Mr. Lincoln has covered the entire abolition platform—hatred of slavery, disregard of udicial decisions, negro equality, and, as a matter of course, the ultimate extinction of slavery. None of hese doctrines, however, are left to inference, so far as Mr. Lincoln is concerned, as we see he has avowed them n the plainest and clearest language. They are not exceeded by the boldness of Seward, the malignity of Giddings, or the infamy of Garrison. It was the knowledge of these facts which induced his nomination by the Republican party; and by the free circulation which has the territories those twin relics of barbarism-poligamy and | been given to them in the canvass, it would seem that Mr. Lincoln is indebted to their popularity for his elec-

> Such, then, are the sentiments and principles which an overwhelming majority of the North have endorsed mortification. I will not pause to comment upon this

would I turn from the nauseating recital; but to learn the whole record, however, steeped in intamy or covorces, and it means that the United States MUST AND WILL. fields of South Carolina, and the sugar plantations of Louiton and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchanand it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromises when made, vain and EPHE-

be allowed to take effect, with needful and wise precautions

and I can and must do it. The task is as simple and easy as its consummation will be beneficent, and its rewards glowing. It only requires to follow this simple rule of action to do everywhere, and on every occasion what we can, and not to neglect or refuse to do what we can at any time, because at that precise time, and on that particular occasion, we cannot do more. Circumstances determine possibilities. Extend a cordial welcome to the fugitive who lays his weay limbs at your door, and defend him as you would your

"Correct your own error that slavery has any Constituional guarantees which may not be RELEASED, and ought

"What a commentary upon the history of man is the fact, that eighteen years after the death of John Quincy Adams. pocracy and imbecility upon the majority of the people confessing the obligations of the Higher Law, which the of every Northern State, who have stood by this party | Sage of Quincy proclaimed, and contending for weal or woe, through all its trials and struggles, to its ultimate triumph in the election of Lincoln. I am sure that no one can entertain for them, individually or collectively, less personal respect, then I do and yet I do give them.

" In what I have done, I cannot claim to have acted from tent with the idea that, on obtaining power, they will any particular consideration of the colored people, as a separate and distinct class in the community, but from the sim-ple conviction that all the individuals of that class are mem-tive slave act of Congress, and annul a plain provision to being an element of weakness, it has proven in all bers of the community, and, in virtue of their manhood, entitled to every original right enjoyed by any other member. We feel, therefore, that all legal distinction between individuals of the same community, tounded in such circum-

ight of suffrage by a property qualification. In other repects the same equality prevails. MY DISAPPROBATION of that clause of the Constitution which denies to a portion of the colored people the right of suf-

"True Democracy makes no inquiry about the color of the skin, or place of nativity, or any other similar circum-

Language is feeble to express all the enormity of this titution, which is now vaunted as in itself a form of civ-

"We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was in-itiated with the avowed object and confident promise of in the society of which he forms a part, the essential ele-

has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease produced in the lives of all who live within their fatal until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. ' A house sphere. The meat that is eaten by man enters into and bedivided against itslef cannot stand.' I believe ti is Govcomes a part of his body; the madder which is eaten by a
rernment cannot endure p rmanently half slave and half dog changes his bones to red; and the slavery on which bivided: it will be a strong of the Republican standbivided: it will be a strong of the Republican standbivided: it will be a strong of the Republican standbivided: it will be a strong of the Republican standbivided: it will be a strong of the Republican standbivided: it will be a strong of the Republican standacters, and breaking forth in moral leprosy. This language
is strong; but the evidence is even stronger. Some there
ard by a hair's breath;" or in the public announcement of immediate and unconditional abolition in every
spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in

may be of happy nature like honorable Senators, who can made by Senator." Trumbull," of Illinois, since the elecwhich are now commanded to the countries which are now commanded to the countries. tional mode, justify the Southern States in dissolving lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as swallow without bane the poison of slavery."—Mr Sumner. South."

" If all men are created equal, no one can rightfully acquire or hold dominion over, or property in, another man, without his consent. If all men are created equal, one man "If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a cannot rightfully exact the service or the labor of another sidential contest of 1856. The fact that it was composed | question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new Ter- man without his consent. The subjugation of one man to ritory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that another by force, so as to compel involuntary labor or ser-

"All this is just and sound; but assuming the same premises, to-wit: That all men are equal by the law of nature and of nations, the right of property in slaves falls to the We hold these truths to be self-evident,-that all men | ground; for one who is equal to the other cannot be the owner or property of that other. But you answer that the tive-tariff Whigs; internal improvement and anti-inter- with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, Constitution recognizes property in slaves. It would be nal improvement men; and indeed all shades of parti- LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these sufficient, then, to reply that this constitutional obligation MUST BE VOID, because it is repugnant to the law of nature and of nations .- Mr. Seward

"It is written in the Constitution of the United States, in violation of the deliberate and repeated declarations of their only sectional in its memviolation of the divine law, that we shall surrender the fugi-tive slave. You blush not at these things, because they are successful candidate for the Presidency. 3d. As anfamiliar as household words - Mr. Seward.

"The Surreme Court also can reverse its spur ous judg-

ment more easily than we can reconcile the people to its "The people of the United States never can, and they never will, accept principles so unconstitutional and so ab- power. horrent. Never, never. Let the Court recede. Whether reform its political sentiments and practices, and bring them | vent its extension. into harmony with the Constitution and the laws of nature.' Mr. Seward.

Similar extracts from the same and other equally high authorities might be produced to an indefinite extent I have confined myself to Senators-men high in authority, and who bring to the support of their doctrines unquestioned evidence of the sanction and approval of the people they represent. All of these Senators have been endorsed by re-election to the Senate, and by elevation ideas of the Republic. We can do it. The human heart is to other posts of honor and distinction. Some, if not all of them, are indebted for their positions and popularity to the very avowals upon which I am commenting. It is worse than idle to say that the people con iemn these doctrines, and that they are the extravagant ebullitions of excited partizans. This is impossible. Otherwise these sentiments would not be repeated and reiter- desired result of the "irrepressible conflict. ated in and out of season, by these Senators, and always with more than usual emphasis and bitterness as the declares, and the Constitution recognizes the equality of the time for their re-election approaches. Nor would State announced by those chosen to represent them.

> lican representatives have gone even further than Senis deemed too harsh-no epithet too coarse-no denunciation too bitter, in the estimation of these men, to the citizen of a Southern State with his slave property, in the justify the hope suggested by those confiding friends have equality and justice in it. Identified with youn be applied to the people of the South. The official record of Jongress is filled with the most inflammatory appeals, not only to the people of the North, but to the slaves of the South, inciting insurrection, stimulating revolts, encouraging arson and murder, and denouncing slaveholders as pirates and barbarians. I shall not stop to make quotations from these speeches. It is only necessary to open any volume of the Congressional Globe for the last few years, and turn to the speech of any Black Republican on the subject of slavery, and you will find ample evidence of the truth of the statement.

To such an extent has this habit, on the part of members of Congress, of abusing the people of the South gone, that a citizen of a Southern State cannot visit the Capitol of his country, and linger for an hour in its halls during the session of Congress, without hearing tion. The insincerity of his disavowal of the doctrine language and epithets applied to himself and section of of negro equality, when pressed to the wall, after the the most offensive and insulting character. The venersolemn declarations I have quoted, is too transparent to able men of all sections, who served in Congress twentyread them in the papers with equal astonishment and government, by interposing no obstacle in the way of the mortification. I will not pause to comment upon this execution of the law and the Constitution. state of things, but will proceed with my inquiry into

traitors, both to principle and duty.

Constitution of the United States, in express terms, re- may be the case; but unfortunately for the future peace but over confiding men of the South, may catch at this quires our fugitive slaves to be delivered up to their and security of the South, the causes which may lead to congressional majority straw, but it will only be to grasp owners, when escaping into another State. Congress its dissolution and defeat arises outside of the slavery and sink with it.

of the Constitution of the United States. destern bed, shall not behold the footprint of a single slave been robbed by your sacriligious hands, and make it all our broad and glorious land."—Mr. Chase. again what our fathers made it-a Union of good faith in the maintenance of constitutional oblations. Do this; ization, ennobling, at least, to the master, if not to the and the Union will find in all this land no truer or more

it recedes or not, we shall reorganize the Court, and thus and that it is the cuty of the Federal Government to pre-Second. That slavery is not recognized by the Constitu-

in nowise committed to its protection. rotection at the hands of the Federal Government, with other property. Fourth. That so far from protection, it is the duty of the

Federal Government, wherever its power extends, to proto prevent any Southern man from going into the common Territories of the Union with his slave property. Fifth. That slavery is such an evil and curse, that it he duty of every one, to the extent of his power, to contrioute to its ultimate extinction in the United States.

Sixth. That there is such a conflict between slave and free labor, that all States of the Union must become either slave or free; and as all Black Republicans are opposed to slave or free; and as all Black Republicans are opposed to slavery and slave States, their policy and doctrines look to slavery, that "he could not wait for Providence" to have to deal with a shrewd, heartless, and unscrupplions all these States becoming free, as not only the natural but wipe it out, but must himself undertake the duty with enemy, who, in their extremity, may promise anything Seconth. That the Declaration of Independence express'y negro to the white man, and that the holding the negro in

sent relation of master and slave in the Southern States. Eighth. That the Southern States do not stand upon an it is the recognized duty of the General Government to or to the cold irony which speaks through their press, of speedy ruin. I entertain no doubt either of your right er man-this race and that race and the other race being in- ators, in their abuse and denunciation, not only of the property, and would especially be required to protect their institution of slavery, but of slaveholders. No language citizens from any act of confiscation in the common territories of the Union, it would be the duty of the same General Government, not only to withhold such protection from which I have before referred, can anything be found to dependence out of the Union, for you will never again

> sion from that common territory.
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> Ninth. That the admission of more slave States into the mion is rendered a moral if not a phisical impossibility. e looked at in connection with the constitutional rights | pulpit, the Sunday schools, and all the sources of Christand guarantees claimed by the Southern States. They ian influence, for one cheering beam of light. Unfor-

2. That the citizens of the South have the right to go with their slave property into the common territories of the anthemas against the institution, whilst the Sunday now resorted to with confi-

five and thirty years ago, listen to these discussions or by positive enactment, as has been done; and the State

I decline to enumerate other constitutional rights, py and glorious Union. them.

In this inquiry into the doctrines and principles of the Black Republican party, we cannot kave unnoticed the announcements which have been made to the country by their ablest recognized leaders. Gladly would I turn from the nauseating recital; but to learn and appreciate the truth of the case, we must look to language. I simply allude to the fact without intending manding their recognition and enforcement. Other that with a majority in Congress against him, Lincoln to weaken the argument by bringing to the witness- wise we are asked to pay tribute and give allegiance to is powerless to do us harm. I doubt not the sinceriered with falsehood. I affix to these extracts the names stand the lower order of Black Republicans, of the class government which is wanting. either in the will or ty of those who present this appeal against Southern f the Senators who uttered them—names, I regret to ay, too familiar to all the readers of American politics.

Thus, these antagonistic systems are continually coming with falsehood. I allix to these extracts the names of Webb, Wentworth, Greeley, &c. They simply do the bidding of wiser heads. With them it is thrift.—

With the others it is sentiment—passion—power; and the subject. It is indeed true that, without a majority into closer contact, and collision results. Shall I tell you the fact that so many instruments can be found to do doctrines and principles of the Black Republican party in Congress, Lincoln will not be able to carry out at what this collision means? They who think it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested faustical agitators, and the refere college of the extent to which the refere college of the extent to which the menial work is only evidence of the extent to which the menial work is only evidence of the extent to which the menial work is only evidence of the extent to which the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines and principles have taken root in the popular than the doctrines are the doctrines and the doctrines are the doctrines and the doctrines are the doctrines and the d mits the existence of the rights claimed by the South, ing majority in Congress against him, can arrest that tive Cathartic which the There is one dogma of this party which has been so will say that she ought to yield. It only remains to en- tide of popular sentiment at the North against slave- practice more than twerty solemnly enunciated, both by their national conventions | quire whether the Black Republican party will secede | ry, which, sweeping down all the barriers of truth, and Mr. Lincoln, that it is worthy of serious consider- from its position, and thus end "the irrepressible conflict" justice and constitutional duty, has borne Mr. Lincoln ation. I allude to the doctrine of negro equality. The which their doctrines have inaugurated. Those who in- into the Presidential chair? Can that Congressional stereotyped expression of the Declaration of Independulge the hope that such will be the case, are, in my majority, faint and feeble as it is known to be, repeal dence, that "all men are born equal," has been perver- honest judgment, greatly deluded. The boldness and the unconstitutional legislation of those ten nullifying on different portions of the bowels. chusetts and New York again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture, and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more a market for trade

Boston and New York become once more a market for trade

Boston and New York become once more a market for trade

Can it restore the lost equalibasis of a political dogma which strikes at the very principles; the sacrifices which they have made to secure ty of the Southern States?

Can it restore the lost equalibasis of a political dogma which strikes at the very principles; the sacrifices which they have made to secure ty of the Southern States? foundation of the institution of slavery. Mr. Lincoln their triumph; the deliberation with which their positive constitutional rights? Can it exercise its power in which act alike on every part of the alimentary of the alimentar the bodies and souls of then. It is the failure to apprehends this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful at tempts at final compromise between the slave & free States, and it is the existence of this great fact that renders all to the negro; and necessarily there can exist no such of their conventions; their candidate, and all their lead-

> faith," would be to write themselves down self-convicted the scene of danger, may reason plausibly upon the prevent the use of that patronage for the purpose of orchances of overthrowing a party so utterly unworthy of ganizing in the South a band of apologists—the mate-These principles have not only been declared in the impassioned language of its advocates and defenders, but their property, and fathers and husbands anxious for the his four years, to gather an organization in Southern to the impassioned language of its advocates and defenders, but their property, and fathers and husbands anxious for the his four years, to gather an organization in Southern to the impassioned language of its advocates and defenders, but their property, and fathers and husbands anxious for the large towns. have at length found their way into the statute-books of ten of the Northern States.
>
> Every good citizen, north and south, admits that the level as a safety of their families, require some stronger guaranty than the feeble assurance of partisan speculations, to quiet their apprehensions and allay their fears. This over-anxious friends of the Union at the North, faithful these States the shibboteth of their strength. In New

ilization, ennolying, at least, to the master, if not to the slave. Look at it in whatever light you will, and it is always the seak, the canker, 'the bare bones' and the shame of the country; wrong, not merely in the abstract, as it is often additted by its applogists, but wrong in the concrete in it in the light of principle, and it is nothing less than a now developing will show, beyond all obstractions against the eternal law of God, and also the denial of that divine law in which God himself is manifest, the Black Republicans and principles which I have attributed by its apploists, and the shame of the country is an origin; barbarous in origin; barbarous in origin; barbarous in stellaw; barbarous in all of the color, and the shame of the country is all obtained copies of the glocuments which they were circulated; and the grossest the same time a devoted supporters than the ever-loyal sons of the South. This, however, the Black Republicans will not do, as the fact I am now developing will show, beyond all obtor question.

In the election which has just transpired, the Black Republicans and principles and it in the light of principle, and it is nothing less than a how it in the light of principle, and it is nothing less than a how it in the light of principle, and it is nothing less than a how developing will show, beyond all obtor question.

In the election which has just transpired, the Black Republicans of the support of Lincoln? Is the hope based upon the fact that an overwhelming majority of the people of every North the steen of things but it in the light of principle, and it is nothing less than a how it is nothing less than a how to stop, our safety, and your independence.

It is there no other remedy for this state of things but the support of Lincoln? Is the hope based upon the fact that on the fact that on the fact that on the state save one cast their vote for the Black Republicans will be seen suggested, except the recommendation of the celection while the constitution of savery save and the spe

ADDRESS OF HON. HOWELL COBB | new era of the introduction of the Nebraska bill began. I | its pretensions; barbarous in the instruments it employs; barbarous in consequences; barbarou barbarous in consequences; barbarous in spirit; barbarous for their snpport and confidence. With the exception wherever it shows itself. Slavery must breed barbarians, of a few dull speeches in favor of a protective tariff, inwhile it described for his present election to the Presidency whelmed with a sense of the great wherever it shows itself. of a few dull speeches in favor of a protective tariff, intended for circulation in Pennsylvania and New Jertended for circulation in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and a still fewer number of pittiful appeals for
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sey, and a still fewer number of pittiful appeals for pledged to the doctrine of the "irrepressible conflict," sey, and a still fewer number of pittiful appeals for squandering the public lands, the whole canvass was squandering the public lands, the whole canvass was conducted by the most bitter and malignant appeals to look for this hope in the whispered intimation that, the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Under the look for this hope in the whispered intimation that, otic life. the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Under the local to the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Under the local to the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Under the local to the sentence of his office, Lincoln will prove faithless to the difficulty is, there will be no response to it these who alone have it in their office. the country was flooded with pamphiets and specific the principles of the principles of the principles of the Republicanism is the ruling sentiment at the bolding up slaveholders as "barbarians, and more crimior, in his emphatic declaration of May, 1859, that he Republicanism is the ruling sentiment at the North Republicanism is the ruling sentiment at the No vor of immediate and unconditional abolition in every made by Senator "Trumbull," of Illinois, since the elec-State in the confederacy where it now exists—doctrines in the presence of Mr. Lincoln, that he, Lincoln, and preservation. As a matter of course, they will make by Senator Trainburg, they will be principles on spurn these words of wisdom and patrice, they will maintain and carry forward the principles on spurn these words of wisdom and patrice. which are the necessary and legitimate consequences of the same time holding up the same time holding up the have before turned their back upon all the same time holding up the have before turned their back upon all the same time holding up the the universally recognized dogmas of the Black Republican party. It is worse than idle to deny that such are lican party. It is worse than idle to deny that such are which he was elected," at the same time holding up the have before turned their back upon all the teachings the property of the United States as the instrument. mitted, committed to the fullest extent, in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, wherever it extent in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, wherever it extent in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, wherever it extent in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, wherever it extent in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, wherever it extent in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, wherever it extent in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, wherever it extent in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, wherever it extent in favor of immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. the doctrines and principles of their party, because an of the they will be ality to enforce obedience to the incoming abolition adjust in their insidious warfare to delude the esty which induce men to follow principles to their legitesty which induce men to follow principles to their legit imate conclusions. One thing at least is certain; the Union; or in the prospect of a more efficient execution rivet their iron chains, and thereby put resistance the following principles to their legit imate conclusions. One thing at least is certain; the menagers of the canvass believed that such doctrines of the fugitive slave law, when the marshal's offices in all the future beyond our power. They have trampled on the Constitution of Washington of Washington of Washington of Washington of Washington of Constitution of Washington were popular, or they would not have spent both their the Northern States shall have been filled with Lincoln's on the Constitution of Washington and Madison were popular, or they would not have spent both their the Northean States of the refusal of Vermont, since will prove equally faithless to their pledges. You of the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since will prove equally faithless to their pledges. You of the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since abolition appointees; or in the refusal of Vermont, since about t time and money in giving them such general circulation about applointed about a proposition applointed about applointed about applointed about a proposition applointed about a proposition applointed about a proposition applointed about a Lincoln in response to such appeals shows that these than two to one in her Legislature, to repeal the Permen properly understood the popular sentiment of their sonal Liberty Bill of that State; or shall we look for it but the hearts of the northern people. To effect the fine men properly understood the popular sentiment of their solds in the doctrines of negro equality, which finds among would be a hopeless undertaking, whilst the latter section, to whom alone they appealed for votes to elect in the doctrines of negro equality, which finds among impossibility. If the appeal of the respect to the latter of the property of the popular sentiment of their solds are the first section. its warmest supporters the brightest lights of the Black impossibility. If the appeal of the President was made From these doctrines, principles, and acts of the Black Republican party; or in the announcement solemnly hope for a different response. Unlock the Black Republican party; or in the announcement solemnly hope for a different response. From these doctrines, principles, and acts of the Black Republican party, I propose to extract the aims and made by conventions, speakers, papers, and all other hope for a different response. Unfortunately, however, papers, and all other Right of the Right Republicanism has having however. objects of the party. It will be borne in mind that I organs of the party, that the recognized rights of the Black Republicanism has buried brotherhood in objects of the party. It will be borne in mind that I organs of the party, that the recognized rights same grave with the Constitution. We are no longer rely upon the declaration of their principles: 1st. As South to equality and protection of slave property shall same grave with the Constitution. We are no longer to the fact that the party is not "brethren dwelling together in units" and longer made by their national convention. 2d. As contained never be tolerated; or in the fact that the party is not "brethren dwelling together in unity." The ruling the result of the North are Block Day to the ruling the ruling together in unity. successful candidate for the Presidency. 3d. As an bership, thereby giving to the Black Republic er feeling than that of bitter and intense hatred, Aliena boon as she may hope to receive from the Black Republic er feeling than that of bitter and intense hatred, Aliena to the Black Republic er feeling than that of bitter and intense hatred. the Senate of the United States. I invite attention to licans in their newly assumed character of guardians and in heart, no power on earth can keep them united. the Senate of the United States. I have attention to the following propositions, as the plain and legitimate masters; or in the warning voice of their ablest states. Nothing now holds us together but the cold formalities. objects proposed to be carried out to the extent of their men, that the decisions of the Supreme Court in favor of a broken and violated Constitution. Heaven has of our constitutional rights are to be met, not with rea-First, That slavery is a moral, social and politicial evil; son and argument for reversal, but with the more potent by the South as the only solution which gives to be and practical remedy of "re-organization of the Court," any promise of future peace and safety. by adding a sufficient number of abolitionists to reverse | To part with our friends at the North who have been Second. That slavery is not recognized by the Constitution, will cause a pany that the Federal Government existing decisions; or in the pregnant fact developed by true and faithful to the Constitution, will cause a pany that the pregnant fact developed by true and faithful to the Constitution, will cause a pany the census returns now coming in, that the numerical in every Southern breast; for with them we could Third. That property in slaves is not entitled to the same majori'y of the North is steadily and rapidly it creasing, forever, peaceably, safely and happy. Honor, and for with the promise of still further increase, by the addi- ture security, however, demand the separation, and in tion of more free States, carved out of that common ter- their bearts they will approve though they may regret ritory, from which the South is to be excluded by un- the act bit it; and therefore, it is the duty of Congress, by law. just and unconstitutional legislation; or in such manifestations of Northern sentiment as led to the nomina- before you the tacts of the case, in plain and universely tion by this party of John A. Andrews for Governor passioned language; and I should feel that I had done of Massachusetts, after he had declared his sanction and injustice to my own convictions, and been unfaithed in approval of the John Brown raid; or in the election of you, if I did not, in conclusion, warn you against the the same Andrews to that office by seventy thousand dangers of delay, and impress upon you the hopelessues majority, after he had dec'ared his anxiety to abolish of any remedy for these evils short of secession. You the aid of his Black Republican brethren; or shall we but, in the end, will do nothing. On the 4th of Mare be pointed to the defiant tones of triumph which fill the 1861, the Federal Government will pass into the hand whole Northern air with the wild shouts of joy and of the Abolitionists. It will then cease to have the slavery is violative of his equality, as well as of that "an- thanksgiving, that the days of slavery are numbered, slightest claim either upon your confidence, or your cient faith" which Mr. Lincoln says is violated in the pre- and the hour draws near when the "higher law" and loyalty; and, in my honest judgment, each hour that

> posed to hope against hope. Turning from these indications in the political world, selves. To appreciate the full import of these doctrines and to the more quiet and peaceful walks of social and rerinciples of the Black Republican party, they should ligious life, let us pause, for a moment, and look to the tunately, wherever you find the presence of Black Re-1. That the Constitution of the United States recognizes | publicanism, it is engaged in this work of educating the 1. That the Constitution of the United States recognizes publicanism, it is engaged in this work of educating the the institution of slavery as it exists in the fifteen Southern hearts of the people to hate the institution of slavery.—
>
> IT IS COMPOUNDED ENTIRELY FROM GUMS, and hearts of the people to hate the institution of slavery.—
>
> Thus become an established fact, a Standard Medicine, their slave property into the common territories of the Union, and are entitled to protection for both their persons and property from the General Government during its territorial condition.
>
> 3. That by the plain letter of the Constitution, the owner of a slave is entitled to reclaim his property in any State into which the slave may escape, and that both the General and State Governments are bound under the Constitution to the enforcement of this provision; the General Government by positive enactment, as has been done; and the Sate Within the Institution, whilst the Sunday school room is made the nursery of youthful abolition ists. The hope we are asked to adopt will find in these sources no encouragement or support. On the contratory, nothing has contributed more to the creation of that bitter feeling of hatred, which now pervades the two sections of the country, than the religious teachings of the individual taking it, and act gently on the Bowels. Let the dictates of your used in such quantities asto to the creation of that bitter feeling of hatred, which now pervades the two sections of the country, than the religious teachings of the individual taking it, and act gently on the Bowels. North. It has broke social relations, severed churches, and now threatens, in company with its political hand-

thing as property in our equals. Upon this point both Mr. Lincoln and his party have spoken with a distinct
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Mr. Lincoln and his party have s "The interest of the white man demand the ultimate emancipation of all men. Whether that consummation shall be allowed to take effect, with needful and wise precautions against sudden change and disaster, or be hurried on by violence, is all that remains for you to decide."—Mr. Sew violence, is all that remains for you to decide."—Mr. Sew would not use all the power in their hands to eradicate the violence, is all that remains for you to decide."—Mr. Sew would not use all the power in their hands to eradicate the violence of the white man demand the ultimate mess that admits of no question or equivocation. If they are right, the institution of slavery, as it exists in the southern States, is in direct violation of the fundamental would not use all the power in their hands to eradicate the violence, is all that remains for you to decide."—Mr. Sew would not use all the power in their hands to eradicate the violence of the principles of our Government; and to say that they would not use all the power in their hands to eradicate the violence of the principles of the control of the principles of the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power in their hands to eradicate the body of Cold over are right, the institution of slavery, as it exists in the southern States, is in direct violation of the fundamental principles of our Government; and to say that they would not use all the power in their hands to eradicate the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power in their hands to eradicate the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power in the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power of the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power of the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power of the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power of the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power of the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power of the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power of the body, Kestlessas, How would not use all the power of the body, Kest

not to be relinquished." * * "You will soon bring the has discharged its duty in passing laws to carry out this question. So far from the question of slavery leading The facts and considerations which I have endeavparties of the country into an effective aggression upon constitutional obligation; and, so far, every Executive to such a result, it is the only subject on which the parhas complied with his oath of office, to see the law duly executed. The impediments thrown in the way by lawhas been, on different occasions, subjected; and the ex- her institutions swallows up all other troubles, and re- been chosen in the usual and constitutional mode. It is pieces by other dissensions, hatred to the South and question of resisting the election of a President who has pense to which both the Government and the owner have been put, are matters of small consideration compared with the more pregnant fact that ten sovereign party in the ten nullifying States affords practical proof pared with the more pregnant fact that ten sovereign party in the ten nullifying States affords practical proof President, and that we are asked to live under the ad-States of the Union have interposed their strong arm to of the fact. In which of these States did the Black Re- ministration of a man, who commands neither our reprotect the thief, punish the owner, and confiscate the publicans lose power in consequence of their acts repeal- spect nor confidence, that the South contemplates resisproperty of the citizen of a sister State. Such are the ing the fugitive slave law and nullilying the Constitution of tance even to disunion. Wounded honor might tolerate laws passed by these northern States, to defeat the fugi- the United States? So far from their anti-slavery legisla- the outrage until, by another vote of the people, the nuisance could be abated; but the election of Mr. Lincoln involves far higher considerations. It brings to the These laws are the legitimate fruits of the principles | York and Pennsylvania, the corruptions of this party | South the solemn judgment of a majority of the people and teachings of the Black Republican party, and have were so palpable and infamous, that their own press of every Northern State—with a solitary exception—in stances as color, origin, and the like, are hostile to the genius of our institutions, and incompatible with the true theory of American liberty. Slavery and oppression must cease, or American liberty must perish.

Their existence cannot and should not be fought in the Union, and fraught with the greatest in the New Eng.

The stances as color, origin, and the like, are hostile to the genius of the Black Republican party, and have therefore very naturally made their appearance upon the statute-books of States under the control and in the bands of the party who made presented out against it. Those of the party who made presented out aga statute-books of States under the control and in the bands of that party. Their existence cannot and should not be overlooked by those who are desirous of knowing and before the law.

"In New York the colored man is restricted as to the right of suffrage by a property qualification. In other rethem, not only as an important item in the evidence I ght of suffrage by a property qualification. In other recets the same equality prevails.

them, not only as an important item in the evidence I am offering of the principles and objects of the Black Republican party, but for the more important purpose of presenting a plain and palpable violation of the colored people the right of suffage.

True Democracy makes no inquiry about the color of easien, or place of nativity, or any other similar circumsers are among the loudest in their demands for unconditional submission on the part of the skin, or place of nativity, or any other similar circumsers and objects of the Black and indulge the vain hope that these men will play of presenting a plain and palpable violation of the constitutional compact by ten of the sovereign parties to it.

These very States are among the loudest in their demands for unconditional submission on the part of the skin, or place of nativity, or any other similar circumsers and objects of the Black and objec the skin, or place of nativity, or any other similar circumstance or condition. I regard, therefore, the exclusion of the colored people, as a body, from the elective franchise, as INCOMPATIBLE with true Democratic principles."

"For myself, I am ready to renew my pledge, and I will yenture to speak in behalf of my co-workers, that we will go straight on, without faitering or wavering, until every vestige of oppression shall be erased from the statute-books—until the sun, in all its journey from the utmost eastern horizon through the mid-heaven, till he sinks behind through the mid-heaven, till he sinks behind through the mid-heaven, till he sinks behind the western bed, shall not behold the footprint of a single slave in all our broad and glorious land."—Mr. Chase.

The Gouth to the election of Lincoln. The involability of their speedy downfall and dissection, which would lead ordinarily to their speedy by the seatern of the Captain General of Cubs. The teachings of the past, that the magic word of anti-slave and violated compact formed the only Union we ever ry westige of oppression shall be erased from the statute-books—and violated compact formed the only Union we ever ry will again summon them to a cordinal and and fraternative and violated compact formed the only Union we ever ry will again summon them to a cordinal and and fraternative and violated compact formed the only Union we ever ry will again summon them to a cordinal and and fraternative techniques of the past, that the magic word of anti-slave accomplished the great object of their organization—"its ultimate extinction."

The Gouth Alavana Lotters, or defend disable their wrangling and quarrels over the offices and dissection. The south reposition is the magic word with which they summon them the rection of Lincoln. The involability of their speeds of strife and dissection. The south reposition is the magic word with which they summon them the rection of the of their organization—"its ultimate extinction."

What are the facts to justify the hope, that the Black Republicans will recede from their well defined position of hostility to the South and her institutions? Are they to be found in the two millions of voters, who have deliberately declared in favor of these dectained by the other can only continue at the cost of your honor, your safety, and your independence.

"hatred of slavery and slaveholders" shall be substituted | Georgia remains thereafter a member of the Union will hilst for "the Constitution" and spirit of former brotherhood; be an hour of degradation, to be followed by certain the "inconvenience" of negro insurrections, arson, and or duty to secede from the Union. Arouse, then all murder, which may result in the South from the election | your manhood for the great work before you, and be of Lincoln. In none of these, nor of the other facts to prepared on that day to announce and maintain your incommon domain, but to exercise that power for his exclu- who, in this hour of gloom and despondency, are dis- heart, feeling, and interest, I return to share in whatever destiny the future has in store for our State and our HOWELL COBB. Washington City, Dec. 6, 1860.

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entery, Dropsy, Sour Stom-

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